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John Thomas Lee

[Separate No. 150]

Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

By John Thomas Lee



[From the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for
1912, pages 87-123]

Madison

Published for the Society

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With the compliments of
John Thomas Lee,
Department of State,
Madison, Wisconsin.

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John Thorne Lee,
Department of State,
Washington, Wisconsin.

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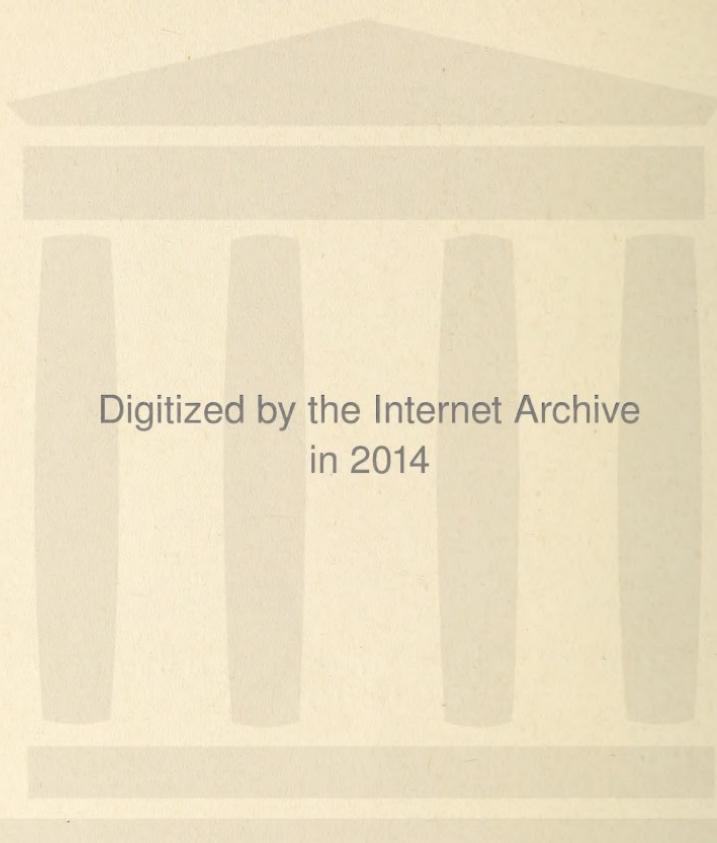
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I

Since the publication of "A Bibliography of Carver's Travels,"² sufficient historical and bibliographical material has been collected to warrant the preparation of a supplementary paper. But at the outset it is proper to say that this paper is not in any sense a connected account of the career of Jonathan Carver; it is merely what its title implies, and as such is presented in the hope that it will aid the future historian in forming a truer estimate than has heretofore been possible of the first English-speaking traveller, during the British régime, in what is now Wisconsin.

The subject of the authorship of the *Travels* and its author's place in Western history is not of great importance; yet nevertheless it is desirable, in view of the attack upon Carver, to present all available evidence which will tend to settle or elucidate

¹ It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many favors extended by Mr. Albert Matthews of Boston. In gathering these facts about Captain Carver he has aided with the instinctive courtesy and generosity of the scholar. Knowing the writer's interest in the subject, Mr. Matthews has been at pains to note items bearing on Carver which came to light in the course of his own investigations along other lines; and he has responded to direct appeals for aid in the heartiest possible manner. Thanks for kindly assistance are also due to Dr. Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, Dominion Archivist, and others.

² Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143-183.

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the points in dispute. In the process of attempting to prove that Carver could not have written the book bearing his name, other condemnatory statements have crept into the discussion until he now stands, in the estimation of many, stripped of his laurels—nothing short of an impostor.

The late Dr. Edward Gaylord Bourne was a man of unusual attainments—a versatile, able, and effective teacher and critic—and it is unfortunate that while his paper, “*The Travels of Jonathan Carver*”³ may be a “summary of scholarly opinion,” it nevertheless lacks the caution and thoroughness which should always characterize the work of the scholar. He seems, for the most part, to have been content to accept without independent research the unsupported and rather vague assertions of earlier writers; and as for the charge of plagiarism, Carver’s delinquency in that respect had been known to students for many years. Bourne merely emphasized the charge by the use of the deadly parallel column. Moreover, it does not appear that in writing his paper he consulted contemporary newspapers or original documents in the archives of England and the United States. Bourne’s name, however, carried great weight, and his conclusions were, naturally enough, quite generally accepted.

In recent years there has been a decided tendency, in the field of history as elsewhere, to search after frauds. There is something fascinating, for example, about the construction of a case from “internal evidence”, which can usually be discovered when one has made up his mind what it is he wishes to prove. This is as dangerous as it is diverting; for a single definite fact, which may later come to light, will spoil all the argument. Carver has been to some extent the victim of this method—a method to be avoided by the careful historian. The truth is always welcome and must be told at any cost; but the writer of history should not sink into mere iconoclasm which seeks without good reason to unsettle long-established reputations.

A delicious and pertinent example of the incautious method of arriving at conclusions from internal evidence may be given. Dr. Blank, a distinguished historical scholar, was asked for his

³ *American Historical Review*, xi, pp. 287-302.

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opinion on the authenticity of the *Travels*. Evidently Dr. Blank had not formed a high opinion of Jonathan Carver. His reply was positive and unequivocal, delivered with all the confidence of one who is master of his subject. He condemned Carver and his book *in toto*; and, as a clincher, offered as evidence of the traveller's unworthiness the lengthy title-page which appears in some editions of the *Travels*, with the comment: "The title-page and introduction are so fantastic and untrue that no weight ought to be given to any of his [Carver's] statements."⁴ If the learned Dr. Blank had mastered the bibliography of the subject he would not have fallen into the error of charging Carver with whatever is fantastic or untrue in the title-page in question; for he would have known that it first appeared when two enterprising Philadelphia booksellers, Joseph Crukshank and Robert Bell, published the *Travels* in 1784—four years after the death of poor Carver.⁵ The title-pages for which Carver *was* responsible are modest enough to satisfy the most captious; as for the introduction, it may be a trifle grandiloquent, but there is no reason for calling it fantastic or wilfully untrue.

II

A supposed absence of evidence has been construed to mean that Jonathan Carver never held the rank of captain in the provincial troops, and that he was not present at the siege and capitulation of Fort William Henry in 1757;⁶ yet the proof of Carver's statements in this connection is easily accessible in the Massachusetts Archives and elsewhere.

Dr. John Coakley Lettsom's account of Captain Carver's mil-

⁴For obvious reasons, the name of the writer of this letter is withheld. Suffice it to say that he is a gentleman who stands deservedly high in his profession.

⁵This is a striking illustration of the necessity of expert bibliographical knowledge in treating critically early books of exploration and travel.

⁶*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 281, note; Bourne, p. 290; Thwaites, *Wisconsin* (Boston, 1908), p. 125.

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itary services,⁷ which in recent years has been called in question, now appears to be entirely reliable; in fact, it can be closely checked by documents presently to be cited. After repeating what had been told him as to Carver having, at the age of eighteen, purchased an ensigncy in a Connecticut regiment, Dr. Lettsom continues in these words:⁸

Of this event, however, I have not found the least mention among his [Carver's] papers, nor, indeed, of any other important circumstance of his life till the year 1757, when he was in the army under General Webb, and fortunately escaped the dreadful massacre at Fort William Henry, where nearly 1500 brave troops were destroyed in cold blood by the Indians in the French army of General Montcalm.

In the ensuing year, 1758, a battalion of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Oliver Partridge, was raised in the province of Massachusetts Bay, by order of Governor Pownall, for the purpose of invading Canada, in which our author served as second lieutenant of Captain Hawks's company; and in 1760 he was advanced to be captain of a company in Colonel Whetcomb's regiment of foot, during the administration of Governor Hutchinson. In Governor Barnard's time, in 1762, Captain Carver commanded a company of foot in Colonel Saltonstall's regiment.

Of the service in the Connecticut regiment, nothing has been found; but for the rest there is ample corroboration.

We know beyond cavil that Jonathan Carver the traveller lived at Montague, Massachusetts, years before he undertook his Western journey, and that he returned to his family there in 1768.⁹ This matter of residence is important, because the papers in the Massachusetts Archives probably have to do with more than one Jonathan Carver. Hence, only when place of residence is given, or when there is other confirmatory evidence,

⁷ "Some Account of Captain J. Carver," in third London (1781) edition of the *Travels*.

⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 2, 3. Also in Temple and Sheldon, *History of Northfield, Mass.* (Albany, 1875), p. 418, there is brief but accurate mention of Carver's military services. Why did Bourne ignore this, and at the same time take from the same source the statement that "Moses Field gave him [Carver] credit for making twenty pairs of shoes in 1754"?

⁹ Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 144, 149.

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can the records be set forth with absolute certainty. The following unquestionably refer to the traveller:

1. Muster-roll, sworn to March 21, 1758. Sergeant in Captain John Burk's company. Residence Montague. March 19–October 19; year not given, but endorsed 1757. Roll made up for that part of Captain Burk's company included in the capitulation at Fort William Henry, August 9, 1757.¹⁰
2. Billeting-roll, sworn to November 16, 1758. No rank given. Residence Montague. Of Colonel William Williams's regiment, in Major John Hawks's company. Enlisted April 14, 1758. Roll made up to June 3, 1758.¹¹
3. Muster-roll, sworn to February 11, 1760. First-lieutenant in Captain Salah Barnard's company. Residence Montague. March 31–November 29; year not given, but endorsed 1759.¹²
4. Muster-roll, dated February 20, 1761. Rank captain. Residence Montague. March 24–December 12; year not given, but endorsed 1760.¹³
5. Pay-roll, sworn to March 25, 1762. Rank captain. Residence Montague. April 18–January 22; year not given, but endorsed 1761, 1762.¹⁴
6. Pay-roll, endorsed Boston, March 2, 1763. Rank captain. Residence Montague. March 4–January 15; year not given, but endorsed 1762, 1763.¹⁵

We may also safely add to the foregoing a muster-roll, dated August 13, 1761, in which Carver's name appears as a captain in Col. Richard Saltonstall's regiment, although place of residence is not given.¹⁶ Lettsom, as we have seen, makes specific men-

¹⁰ Massachusetts Archives, 96:42.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 96:332.

¹² *Ibid.*, 98:329.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 98:261.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 99:143–145.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 99:245.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 99:1. In the Harvard College Library there is the manuscript of a roll of Capt. Jonathan Carver's company in Colonel Saltonstall's regiment, Crown Point, July 20, 1762. General Gage certified, August 11, 1768, that Carver had served as captain in the provincial troops. See *post*, p. 118.

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tion of this service.¹⁷

Carver's military services thus appear to have been varied. No one can now question his right to the title of captain; and what is more important still—for on this largely rests the authenticity of his chapter on the massacre—he was present at Fort William Henry in 1757. Because Carver's name was not found among those included in the capitulation, his presence has been doubted—and this in spite of the fact that his graphic ac-

¹⁷ There are also in the Massachusetts Archives the following papers bearing the name of Jonathan Carver, some of which, no doubt, refer to the traveller: (1) List, dated Dec. 24, 1754, of men receiving bounty from Thomas Cobb, 93:139. (2) Account rendered by Col. John Winslow against the Province for bounty paid by him and Maj. Frye to soldiers enlisted into his regiment in 1754, 93:139a. (3) Undated list of men belonging to Capt. Thomas Cobb's company, Col. John Winslow's regiment, returned as engaged for the defence of the Eastern frontier, and certified as mustered at Castle Island, June 21, 1754, 93:140. (4) Same as (3), in which Carver's name appears twice with the rank of first-lieutenant, 93:140. (5) Muster-roll, dated Nov. 8, 1754, of Capt. Thomas Cobb's company, Col. Winslow's regiment; April 23—October 2, year not given, but endorsed 1754, 93:141. (6) Muster-roll, dated Feb. 23, 1755/6; sentinel in Capt. Elijah Williams's company, June 19—Sept. 18, 1755, 94:18. (7) Muster-roll, dated March 3, 1756; corporal in Capt. William Lyman's company, Sept. 15-Dec. 10; year not given, but endorsed 1755; company on Crown Point expedition, 95:170. (8) List of officers appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor to command the 1800 men raised, as returned to the Council by Col. Joseph Frye; rank captain; year not given, but possibly 1757, 95:221. (9) List, dated April 6, 1757, of a company of militia in Taunton, commanded by Capt. Joseph Hall; rank captain; reported as belonging to the alarm list, 95:251. (10) List, dated April 19, 1757, of men in Capt. John Coolidge's company; reported on the alarm list, 95:323. (11) Billeting account, sworn to May 25, 1758, of Capt. Carver's company, Col. Joseph Frye's regiment, 95:398. (12) Same as (11), sworn to Jan. 4, 1759, 95:477. (13) Same as (12), also sworn to Jan. 4, 1759, 95:479. (14) Account, endorsed "Capt. Jno. Burk's Acct of Sundrys"; year not given, 96:44. (15) Billeting account, sworn to Jan. 31, 1759, of Capt. Carver's company, Col. Frye's regiment, 96:194. (16) Muster-roll, dated Feb. 20, 1761, of Capt. Jonathan Carver's company, 98:261. (17) Account rendered by Jonathan Carver

Charlestown in N.Hampshire Nov^{br} 15 1759

Sir

Sergt Messiman brought an Order from Col^l Willard of Winchester for three Gallons of Rum which he makes and sent of to your Party the same I have forward^d By Sergt messiman and Sirs own that comes in here with Ensign Smith and Lieut^r have sent down Sase^d and a Gallon of Rum for you and the other Gentlemen with you which I send of G Parker - many of Ensign Smith Party are not well except with Bad Consc^s and some of the able men have no钱^t I met with much Difficultie to git a Party with Sergt messimans allow^d a Great complaint of being not well yesterday & to day we have been expecting a Party from you for two days and when they come I determine every one able to do any thing shall return the Deposites from your Party went through this place to their own home and those more habe left Ensign Smith Party I have got their names Sir I am Your most Obedient and Most humble Servt.

To Major Hawks

Jonathan Carver

Reduced facsimile of letter written by Jonathan Carver to "Major John Hawke [Hawks], on the road between Crown Point and No. 4 [Charlestown, N. H.]" From the Massachusetts Papers in the Library of Congress.

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count of the terrible massacre which followed the surrender is corroborated by other witnesses.¹⁸ However, there can be no doubt that he played his part on that fateful day. The muster-roll of Capt. John Burk's company, conclusive evidence though it is, is supported by Carver's petition to the provincial government (December 31, 1763),¹⁹ asking for pecuniary assistance, in which he affirms that he was present at Fort William Henry and was there wounded by the Indians. In a memorial to the Earl of Dartmouth (February 10, 1773) Carver also asserts that he was "wounded in his Leg at the bloody Massacree of the unhappy Garrison of Fort William Henry at Lake George".²⁰

against the Province of Massachusetts Bay, dated Feb. 21, 1761, in part for transporting baggage from No. 4 (Charlestown, N. H.) to Montague, 98:262. (18) Account against the Province, dated 1762, amounting to £ 5-2-0, 99:144.

In the Library of Congress (Massachusetts Papers) will be found the following: (1) Receipt for mess money, dated Boston, March 29, 1758, signed by Jonathan Carver as captain, and endorsed in an unknown hand: "Captains Carver and Burk were in Col. Frye's Massachusetts regiment in 1757, and both taken prisoners at Fort William Henry that year & narrowly escaped the Indian tomahawk at the massacre which followed. * * *" (2) List (1758) of Major John Hawks's company, Col. Partridge's regiment, in which Jonathan Carver is given as lieutenant and adjutant. (3) John Hawks's "List of men that marched with me from ye Lake," in which Jonathan Carver appears as lieutenant (1758). (4) Muster-roll, dated Nov. 17, 1759, of detachments of 2nd battalion, Ruggles's Massachusetts regiment, in which Jonathan Carver is given as lieutenant in Capt. John Burk's company. (5) Receipt, dated Nov. 19, 1759, given at No. 4 to Capt. Burk, and endorsed "Lt. Carver's rec't. for Billiting money." (6) List of field officers in Col. Whitcomb's regiment, in which Jonathan Carver is given as the 5th captain in rank (1760). In addition to these six documents there are three others signed by the Jonathan Carver who was in Major Hawks's company—two are inventories, dated August 3, 1758, of property belonging to men in Col. Partridge's regiment; and the third is a letter, dated Charlestown, N. H., Nov. 15, 1759, and addressed to "Major John Hawke [Hawks], on the road between Crown Point and No. 4 [Charlestown, N. H.]"

¹⁸ Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Boston, 1904), i, p. 529.

¹⁹ Massachusetts Archives, 80:447-449; *post*, pp. 108, 109.

²⁰ *Post*, pp. 117, 118.

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Furthermore, he states in the *Travels*²¹ that he received a wound in the ankle from an Indian spear, and narrowly escaped one in his side.

We may now read Carver's vivid description of the massacre without skepticism. There is no reason to doubt that it is veracious and reliable, so far as it relates to occurrences of which he himself was an eye-witness.²²

III

Suspicion has been cast upon Carver in the matter of the plot said to have been hatched by Maj. Robert Rogers while commandant at Mackinac;²³ but rather diligent investigation has failed to disclose a scintilla of evidence showing Carver's complicity in any treasonable undertaking.

Parkman says that Rogers "was tried by a court-martial for a meditated act of treason, the surrender of Fort Michillimackinac into the hands of the Spaniards, who were at that time masters of Upper Louisiana."²⁴ He was placed under arrest, tried at Montreal in 1768, and acquitted. If Rogers had treasonable designs it seems likely that his negotiations with the French or Spaniards were carried on during the time Carver was in the farther West. However, it is possible that the alleged intrigue was entered into after the traveller's return to

²¹ First edition (London, 1778), p. 318.

²² In the *Massachusetts Magazine* (Boston) for October, 1789, pp. 634-636, is a curious account of a dream which Captain Carver had a few nights before his departure from America in 1769. He is said to have seen in his dream, while standing on the seashore at Boston, the royal standard of England in the heavens. At first it waved gently; but in an instant the banner became much agitated, as if by a whirlwind, and was rent into many pieces. Carver took this to be "a prognostication of the disunion which has since taken place." The writer of this account of Carver's dream, which originally appeared in the *European Magazine*, avers that the traveller "was always a strenuous advocate of lenient measures [toward the colonies], and a reconciliation on the best terms that could be obtained."

²³ Thwaites, *Wisconsin*, p. 125.

²⁴ *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (Boston, 1899), p. 163.

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Mackinac in August, 1767.²⁵ The statement made in the report of July 10, 1769²⁶ on an early Carver memorial—possibly his first after reaching London—to the effect that Rogers was under confinement when Carver reached Mackinac on his return journey, is not correct. Major Rogers was not arrested until several months after Carver's reappearance. General Gage's order to Captain Spiesmacher reached Mackinac after the winter season had set in. Rogers was therefore kept at the post, part of the time in irons, until he could be sent for trial to Montreal, where he arrived in June, 1768.²⁷ It is equally certain that Major Rogers was superseded and placed under arrest before Carver started on his homeward journey, which, according to his own statement, was in June, 1768;²⁸ and we have positive proof that he was in Boston in August of that year.²⁹

Benjamin Roberts, commissary for Indian affairs and trade at Mackinac, in a letter to Sir William Johnson dated October 31, 1767, gives some details of the disturbances created by Major Rogers, and mentions the names of Goddard, Tate [Tute], Carver, Engineer, and Atherton, as being interested in Rogers's plans.³⁰ Roberts, however, was not on good terms with the commandant, who had placed him under arrest, the result of a controversy over the seizure of a cargo of rum;³¹ and it is therefore likely that he was suspicious of everybody who had friendly relations with his chief.

At all events, Carver was employed by Rogers for "the purpose of making discoveries and surveys of ye interior parts of North America, especially to ye West and North west of that Garrison [Michilimackinac]", to use the language of the report already referred to, and not, so far as we have knowledge, in the furtherance of any treasonable designs which Rogers may

²⁵ *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1909, p. 149.

²⁶ *Post*, pp. 110-112.

²⁷ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 279, note; *Journal of John Lees of Quebec, Merchant* (Detroit, 1911), pp. 25, 26.

²⁸ *Travels* (London, 1778), p. 149.

²⁹ *Wis. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, 1909, p. 143.

³⁰ Hough, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (Albany, 1883), pp. 238-241.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

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have entertained at that time. For his services he was to receive eight shillings a day "together with other incidental Charges."³² The amount of Carver's claim was duly itemized and presented to the government; but it appears that Rogers, as was usual with him, had acted without authority.³³ Yet not a shadow of suspicion was cast upon Carver in the report on his claim; and General Gage, who certainly must have been well informed of the movements of Rogers and his associates at Mackinac, under date of August 11, 1768, certified that Carver had served with reputation as a captain in the provincial troops; that he had ever borne the "character of a very good man"; and that his statements setting forth the hardships and difficulties of his Western travels were true, but that Major Rogers was not empowered to employ him.³⁴ It is fair to assume that General Gage would not have given a certificate of character to one suspected of treasonable designs. Moreover, it is significant that the Earl of Hillsborough, who signed the report favorable to Carver, was no friend of Major Rogers; for under date of March 12, 1768, he writes to Sir William Johnson of the "wicked and infamous behaviour of Rogers";³⁵ and in view of the fact that Carver avowed his employment under Rogers and produced an attested copy of a warrant from that officer, it is not unlikely that Hillsborough closely scrutinized the evidence adduced by the traveller. If doubt of his loyalty had been entertained, it is reasonable to suppose that, instead of being granted an indemnity, his claim would have received scant consideration. The truth probably is, that he entered into the arrangement in good faith, believing that Rogers was acting with full authority and in the best interests of his country.

For some reason unknown, Carver does not mention in his *Travels* the disturbances at Mackinac and the arrest of Rogers. He may have believed the charge of treason to be unfounded, or he may have been actuated by selfish motives which we cannot at this time fathom.

³² Post, p. 111.

³³ Hough, *Journals*, p. 13.

³⁴ Post, p. 113.

³⁵ Hough, *Journals*, p. 249.

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IV

With little apparent reason save that of a lively suspicion, doubt has been expressed as to the gratuity which Carver received from the government. One writer observes that it is extremely improbable that the traveller's services were recognized to the extent of a gratuity of thirteen hundred pounds, else why did he die "absolutely and strictly starved in January, 1780"?³⁶

The Reverend Samuel Peters—happily characterized by Professor Bourne as "the spicy and spiteful historian of Connecticut"—stated under oath that Carver received £ 1373 6s 8d from the British government,³⁷ and, violent Tory though he was, Peters may now and then have spoken the truth.

Carver himself admits that he received an indemnity,³⁸ and complains that he was not permitted to add to his original claim the sum he avers to have paid a bookseller to recover his charts and journals, when they were called for by the Lords of Trade.³⁹ Moreover, in his memorial to the Earl of Dartmouth (February 10, 1773), he says:

"Your Memorialist on his Return made Application to be reim-

³⁶ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, xviii, p. 281, note.

³⁷ Durrie, "Captain Jonathan Carver and 'Carver Grant'", in *Ibid.* vi, p. 251.

³⁸ *Travels* (London, 1778), pp. xiii, xiv.

³⁹ In his memorial to the Earl of Gower (June 7, 1770), made after he had complied with the demand of the Lords of Trade, Carver makes no mention of having been compelled to purchase his papers from a bookseller; and in the claim accompanying the memorial, no such item is included. See *post*, pp. 116, 117.

The Boston *News-Letter* of June 7, 1770, contains the following, dated London, April 12:

We hear that Capt. Carver, famous for his late travels in the interior parts of North-America, has received orders from the government to deliver up all his plans, journals, and discoveries, to the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations, which he has complied with. By this prudent measure, it seems, that the Spaniards, who are making themselves formidable at the mouth of the Mississipi, will be prevented from obtaining that knowledge of the heads of that vast river, and the continent thereabouts, which otherwise they would have done, had those journals been made public.

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bursed his Expences and Labour, and his Majesty was most Graciously pleased to order him a Sum of Money on his giving up his Journals Draughts and plans, which he chearfully did, tho the sum Received was but a little more than Equivoltent to the Expences he was at,⁴⁰ which Draughts and Plans wou'd then by a publication produce Your Memorialist a Considerable Relief."⁴¹

Peter's sworn statement as to the amount of the gratuity is not wholly without support. There is in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa the undated draft of a petition to Congress by Rufus Carver,⁴² "of Brandon in the County of Rutland and State of Vermont", in which he asks that the grant of land made by the Indians to his father, Captain Jonathan Carver, on May 1, 1767, be ratified for the benefit of the heirs;⁴³ and in the course of the petition it is stated that the "government gave above £1300 sterling to said Jonathan". Apparently the petitioner thought his case would best be served by the omission of this statement, for the passage is stricken out. Of course it is possible that the "spicy and spiteful historian of Connecticut" was the source of Rufus Carver's information. That point, however, cannot now be determined.

It is not improbable that Carver received money from the British government at more than one time. An almost chronic state of impecuniosity made him a persistent memorialist—as a perusal of the documents which accompany this paper will show—and under such conditions he may perhaps be pardoned if, in his appeals for aid, he now and then overstates his services to his king and country, considerable though they were.

⁴⁰ Carver here evidently means that he received a sum of money little in excess of the cost of his Western travels and not the amount claimed to have been paid to the bookseller in order that he might recover his charts and journals. He makes this clearer in *Travels* (London, 1778), p. xiv.

⁴¹ *Post*, p. 118.

⁴² Rufus Carver was born in Montague, Mass., December, 1755, and was a soldier in the Revolution. After the war he lived in Montague and Deerfield. About 1797 he removed to Brandon, Vt., and thence, after 1822, to Sodus, N. Y., where in 1837 he was still living with a son and son-in-law. See Temple and Sheldon, *Northfield*, p. 418.

⁴³ Nothing new concerning the so-called "Carver Grant" has been discovered; therefore the subject is not discussed in this paper.

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V

We have evidence that Carver was a surveyor and draughtsman;⁴⁴ and it is also quite clear that he had some ability as a map-maker. At any rate, he was, during his residence in England, concerned in the making of at least three maps (besides those later included in the *Travels*) and a plan of Boston.

There are in the British Museum⁴⁵ four copies of the earliest map extant bearing Carver's name—two in manuscript and two engraved. The sequence of these maps appears to be as follows:

1. Manuscript map made to accompany Carver's autograph journal (also in the collection).⁴⁶ This map, certainly in the traveller's own hand, is no doubt the original made by him from which all the others were taken.⁴⁷

2. A copy of the above on a much reduced scale, made to accompany the fair copy of his journal; but not by Carver. It agrees in size with, and was no doubt prepared for engraving, the map which follows.

3. Two copies (one colored) of a map engraved from the above, though with slight alterations. It is thus dedicated: "To the Rt. Honble the Earl of Hillsborough and the rest of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. This Plan is most Humbly Dedicated by their most Obedient Humble Sert. 1769. Jonathan Carver."⁴⁸ This map was probably engraved by Thomas Kitchin, for in the statement of expenses annexed to Carver's memorial (June 7, 1770) to the Earl of Gower, president of the Privy Council, there is an item of "Cash paid Kitchen Engraver for Copper plate delivered to the Board of Trade £ 12-12s."⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143, 152; also Carver's memorials, *post*, pp. 114, 117, 119.

⁴⁵ Additional Manuscripts, 8949, 8950.

⁴⁶ *Post*, pp. 120, 121.

⁴⁷ This on the high authority of the keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum.

⁴⁸ So far as known, this map did not appear in any publication, and, with the exception of the two here named, no copies of it have been found.

⁴⁹ *Post*, p. 116.

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One of the maps published in the first, second, and third London editions of the *Travels*⁵⁰ appears to have been taken from that of 1769. The scale is very slightly reduced, and the latitude and longitude corrected somewhat, but the maps are substantially the same. The 1778 map, however, omits and alters names and descriptions; and in place of the dedication above-mentioned, it is entitled: "A Plan of Captain Carvers Travels in the interior Parts of North America in 1766 and 1767".

There appeared in the second issue of Thomas Jefferys's *American Atlas*⁵¹ a finely-executed map entitled "A New Map of the Province of Quebec, according to the Royal Proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, from the French Surveys connected with those made after the War, by Captain Carver, and other Officers in His Majesty's Service". It is suggestive that the name of Carver is given prominence, while the "other officers" who assisted are not mentioned by name. An attempt has been made to trace the source of this map, if indeed it had a source other than that indicated by the title; but so far as known it had no engraved prototype.⁵²

In the first edition of the *American Atlas*⁵³ the eighth plate is "A Map of the British Empire in North America; by Samuel Dunn, Mathematician." In succeeding issues⁵⁴ this map reappears.

⁵⁰ 1778, 1779, and 1781.

⁵¹ London, 1776. The map was continued, without change, in the issues of 1778 and 1782. It was also used as plate 3 in some copies of William Faden, *North American Atlas* (London, 1777), and in a French version in Le Rouge, *Atlas Ameriquain Septentrional* (Paris, 1778). See Phillips, *List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1909), i, pp. 655-658. There is a good reproduction of the map in the Canadian Archives Report, 1905, iii, p. 119.

⁵² Dionne, *Inventaire Chronologique des Cartes, Plans, Atlas, relatifs à la Nouvelle-France et à la Province de Québec, 1508-1908* (Quebec, 1909), does not contain the title of any printed map that could have served as the source of Carver's map.

⁵³ London, 1775.

⁵⁴ London, 1776, 1778, and 1782. With numerous changes, particularly from Lake Ontario, up the St. Lawrence, and in New England, this map also appeared with the following title: "A New Map of the United States of North America with the British Dominions of that Continent &c. By Samuel Dunn, Mathematician; improved from the surveys of Capt. Carver" (London, 1786).

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pears with the addition to the title of the words, "improved from the surveys of Capt. Carver." At first it was thought that possibly Carver had merely lent his name, but careful comparison of the first with later issues of the *American Atlas* has shown that his contribution was material. The shore line of the Great Lakes is considerably altered, and the region between the Mississippi and the lakes is changed in the water courses and names set down.

One I. De Costa⁵⁵ published in London, July 29, 1775, "A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston".⁵⁶ This map was probably wholly or in part the work of Captain Carver; for under date of August 8, 1775, Isaac Foster writes to Maj. Robert Rogers informing him that "Carver and Dacosta have finished a new plan of Boston at the request of Whitworth".⁵⁷ Whitworth was

⁵⁵ Nothing has been learned concerning De Costa, although diligent inquiry has been made.

⁵⁶ In May, 1911, Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, London, published a facsimile of this plan from the rare original now preserved in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, R. I. Mr. George Parker Winship very kindly loaned a copy of the facsimile for examination, and a description of it follows. This particular copy is not colored. Stevens, however, issued an edition of fifty, colored by hand after the manner of the original.

A Plan of the | Town and Harbour of | Boston. | and the Country adjacent with the Road | from Boston to Concord | Shewing the Place of the late Engagement, | between the King's Troops & the Provincials, | together with the several Encampments of | both Armies in & about Boston. | Taken from an Actual Survey | Humbly Inscribed to Richd. Whitworth Esqr. Member of Parliament for Stafford. | By his most Obedient Servant I: De Costa. [The title is followed by nineteen numbered references to position of troops, batteries, men of war, etc.] [At bottom of plan] London Publish'd as the Act directs July 29th 1775. by I. De Costa Red Cross Street Southwark. Size, 19 x 14½ inches.

A copy of the facsimile owned by the Bostonian Society, as presumably were all those offered for sale by Stevens, also has the following at bottom: "Reproduced from the original Print preserved in the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I. London: Republished May 1911 by Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, Map & Print Sellers, 39, Great Russell Street, W. C. over against the South West Corner of the British Museum."

⁵⁷ Calendar of the Dartmouth Papers, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part X* (London, 1895), p. 350.

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the gentleman who became interested in Carver's original project of crossing the continent to the Pacific, and who proposed heading an expedition for that purpose.⁵⁸ There can therefore be no doubt that the Carver here referred to was the traveller. Foster says in the same letter that Carver expected to be appointed a superintendent of Indian affairs; and it is known that he made application for this appointment in his memorial (February 25, 1773) to the Earl of Dartmouth, "his majesty's principal Secretary of State for the American department".⁵⁹

In view of what we now know respecting these maps, it would seem reasonably certain that Carver had attained a certain proficiency in map-making. The most exacting critic will admit that if he had no ability as a cartographer, his name must then have been used by the chartsellers to give *éclat* to some of their undertakings. Either point of view brings us inevitably to the conclusion that he was a man of unusual intelligence, well known in geographical circles years before his book made him still better known.

VI

In addition to the maps already noted, there are in the British Museum important Carver papers consisting of journals, a "dictionary of the Naudouesse language" (fuller than that printed in the *Travels*⁶⁰), drawings, etc.⁶¹ These manuscripts were bequeathed to the Museum by Carver's patron, Sir Joseph Banks, to whom the traveller dedicated his book. The journals and the Indian vocabulary are in the handwriting of the author, and have numerous alterations and additions. They do not appear to have been written from day to day, but rather to be copies

⁵⁸ *Travels* (London, 1778), pp. 541, 542.

⁵⁹ *Post*, pp. 119, 120.

⁶⁰ London, 1778 pp. 433-440. General A. W. Greely in a personal letter says that the late James G. Pilling, a close student of such matters, told him that Carver's Santee or Naudowessie vocabulary was the first to appear in print, and that without doubt it was an original compilation.

⁶¹ Additional Manuscripts, 8949, 8950. For complete list of these papers see *post*, pp. 120, 121.

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of original notes, with additions from memory. Possibly these are the journals which Carver wrote up at Mackinac in the fall of 1767, or during the year following.⁶²

Evidently Carver's manuscript was not considered suitable for publication in its original form, for a reviser seems to have been employed to prepare it for the press. Among the papers bequeathed by Sir Joseph Banks there is a note "to the Reviser", in which Carver asks that nameless gentleman, in case he finds any accounts which are unconnected, to be so good as to let him "know by Mr. Pain and every information shall be given that the Author is capable of".

But this does not mean that Carver's style was either bad or illiterate. Few men in the eighteenth century, not professional writers, could have produced a manuscript ready to be placed in the hand of the compositor. Even in these days of habitual authorship, when it is no mark of distinction to have written a book, the editorial blue-pencil must freely be used on the author's "copy".

The British Museum's keeper of manuscripts, certainly an excellent authority, says that Carver "must have been a man of very respectable education; his style and writing are as good (say) as Captain Cook's".⁶³

At this point it will not be out of place to give an example of the work of the reviser or literary hack. One of the best and most reliable books of early Western travel is *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the Years 1760 and 1776*,⁶⁴ from the pen of Alexander Henry the elder. It has been praised by Parkman, who freely drew upon it in writing his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, also by many other historians, as a manly, well-written narrative of great importance. The late Dr. James Bain, in editing a reprint of Henry's book some years ago, wrote enthusiastically of the author's "clear, simple, Defoe-like style", adding that "we look in vain for a rival in these respects".⁶⁵

⁶² Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 148, 150.

⁶³ Letter to the writer, April 1, 1910.

⁶⁴ New York, 1809. For Henry in fiction, see Mary Hartwell Catherwood's charming story, *The White Islander*.

⁶⁵ Toronto and Boston, 1901, p. xxviii.

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If those unfamiliar with Henry's *Travels* will read any chapter of that book, and then turn to the letters written by its author to John Askin, printed from literal transcripts,⁶⁶ in volume xix of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, but one conclusion can be reached. It needs but a modicum of critical faculty to discern that Henry never penned the work bearing his name, in the form in which it was printed. The manuscript must have been carefully revised by a competent hand—of this there can be no doubt. Are we, then, to brand the upright Henry as an impostor? That would be idle and unfair; for in all essential particulars he was undoubtedly the author of the book. The truth is that few, if any, of the early volumes of travel have come to us as written down by their authors. The early travellers and traders who have left records of their experiences in the wilderness were, as a rule, men who had small opportunity of cultivating authorship. The wonder is that they wrote as well as they did, considering the meagre schooling most of them received; and the life they led was not conducive to the acquirement of the art of correct composition.

VII

The one clear case which we have against Jonathan Carver is that he plagiarized portions of his book from the works of Hennepin, Lahontan, Charlevoix, and Adair;⁶⁷ but to call him

⁶⁶ Originals in the library of Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit.

⁶⁷ It is not generally known that the publication of James Adair's *History of the American Indians*, like Carver's *Travels*, was for a long time delayed. The latter work was advertised in the Boston *Chronicle*, September 12, 19, and 26, 1768 (see Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143, 144), although it was not published until 1778. Adair's book was advertised in America as early as 1769, but did not see the light for six years, when it appeared in London (1775). In the *Georgia Gazette* (Savannah) of October 11, 1769, there is a rather long item about Adair, dated New York, February 27—possibly copied from a New York paper of that date—in which it is stated that "he intends going to Europe in the ensuing summer, where he proposes to print the Essays"—meaning his work on the American Indians. In the same newspaper, issue of November 1, 1769, there appeared "Proposals for

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wholly unworthy and unreliable on that account, is to ignore the state of literary manners and morals in England during the eighteenth century. It may reasonably be doubted whether it would have been considered a very reprehensible disregard of literary ethics had Carver's plagiarisms become known in his own day. Such things were rather common then; and in attempting to appraise our traveller we must not judge him altogether by twentieth century standards. La Potherie, a keen observer and at times a lively writer, is believed to have drawn freely and without credit from the lost writings of Nicolas Perrot in writing his valuable *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*,⁶⁸ yet La Potherie has not been discredited on that account. To borrow without credit is now a serious offense—one rightly to shake our confidence in any writer—but long after Carver's day authors of repute appropriated the work of others without seriously injuring their own reputations. To name but one, the delightful Washington Irving, whose charm of style far exceeds his reliability as a historian, was himself very clever at "adapting" materials.⁶⁹

Captain Carver has for many years held an honored place in our Western annals. The first traveller in this region during the British régime, he was first also to give an intelligent account of it to the English-speaking world. He died a pauper in purse, but there seems to be no valid reason for an attempt to

printing by Subscription, Essays on the Origin, History, Language, Religion * * * of the Indians * * * by James Adair. Conditions. The Work will be comprised in two Octavo Volumes, and be put to Press in London as soon as a sufficient Number of Subscriptions are obtained; * * * " It is not unlikely that the book was also advertised in other newspapers of the day. Did Carver and Adair meet in London, and talk over their experiences in the wilderness and the difficulties encountered in getting a book published by subscription?

⁶⁸ In E. H. Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes* (Cleveland, 1911), will be found an admirable English translation of a large part of the fourth edition (Paris, 1753) of La Potherie's *Histoire*.

⁶⁹ Irving followed this course in his *Captain Bonneville*, the subject matter of Bonneville's personal experiences being buried in compilations made from other sources.

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make him also a pauper in reputation. That he had grave faults no honest investigator will deny;⁷⁰ but withal he was a man of tough fibre, highly intelligent, brave, enterprising, resourceful—and there can be no doubt of his ability to write the book which bears his name.

⁷⁰ Apparently Carver was on good terms with his wife at the time of his departure for England in February, 1769. His affectionate letter to her from Mackinac, dated September 24, 1767, does not indicate strained relations (see Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 149-151). However, he appears to have left his family poorly provided for during his Western travels. Mrs. Carver, in sore straits, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts early in 1768, setting forth her husband's public services and sufferings, her own unhappy condition, and praying for relief. Unfortunately for her the petition was dismissed on the grounds that the sum of sixty pounds had been granted to Captain Carver in 1764, in full for his services, etc. (see Massachusetts *House Journals*, February 19, 1768, p. 179, and February 23, p. 188; the original of Mrs. Carver's petition is missing). Carver returned to his family at Montague in 1768; but it does not appear that, upon going to England early the year following, he left his wife and children provided for. Edward P. Pressey, in his *History of Montague*, p. 217, says that in 1770 summer schools were kept at Mrs. Abigail Carver's. It is not known that Carver had anything to do with his family after leaving America, although it is quite possible that for a time he was in touch with them. Finally, however, he married again in England, while the wife of his youth was still living; and when he died in 1780, he left at least one child, a daughter, by this bigamous marriage.

Abigail Carver, the traveller's first wife, survived her husband twenty-two years, dying at Brandon, Vt., Nov. 9, 1802, while living in the family of Joshua Goss, who in 1774 had married her daughter Abigail. Her grave is in the old Congregational burying-ground at Brandon, and the inscription on her tombstone reads:

"Abigail Carver, died Nov. 9th, 1802, in the 73d year of her age.

"A virtuous wife, a mother dear,
To friends & neighbors very near,
She left them all in peace & love,
We trust she's gone to dwell above."

The Belknap Papers in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society (161, c. 29 and 161, k. 6) contain two letters written by John Fisher to the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, dated Portsmouth, N. H., April 19 and 26, 1798. Fisher wrote to Belknap on behalf of his father (also

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Documents

PETITIONS FOR EXPENSES

To His Excellency William Shirley Esq Major General of all His Majesties forces in North America &c. &c. &c. May 21 [in pencil]⁷¹

The Honourable His Majesties Council & House of Representatives in General Court Assembled.

The Petition of Jonathan Carver of Montague in the County of Hampshire Humbly Sheweth—Whereas your Petitioner did the Last Year Enlist into his Majesties Service in the Expedition against Crown point, and before his return from the Camps at Lake George grew infirm, and an ill State of health increasing till the beginning of January, when your petitioner was Sick & dangerously Ill with the Camp feaver Eight weeks & your petitioner was left by it with a disorder in his limbs So that he is Scarcely able to travail a few miles on foot. and as your petitioner apprehends his Sickness, loss of time & charge was Contracted by his Service for his Country, your petitioner Humbly prays that he may be allowed Such a Consideration as your

named John) then in England, asking for information concerning Carver's family in America. It seems that in 1798 Carver's English wife was lately dead, leaving a daughter by the traveller. The elder John Fisher, when secretary to Lord George Germain, had, upon the death of Carver, contributed largely to the support of the widow, "till at length he was so fortunate as to obtain for her a pension that enabled her to pass the rest of Life in some degree of comfort." No doubt the information was desired for the benefit of the daughter referred to; and it is possible that the elder Fisher had hopes of turning the so-called "Carver Grant" to her good. In that event, it was of course desirable to know whether there were other possible claimants in America. Throughout these two letters Carver, who is styled "that extraordinary man," is spoken of in friendly terms. "The subject [of this letter] is the late Captain Jonathan Carver, so well known by his publication of Travels into the western Interior of this country," says the younger Fisher; and farther on he remarks that "it is not to be presumed that a man of good moral character like himself would without that event [i. e. the death of Carver's first wife] have married which he certainly did in England."

⁷¹ Massachusetts Archives, 75: 561, 562.

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honours in your great wisdom Shall think Just & reasonable, and
your petitioner Shall as in Duty Bound ever pray &c.

JONATHAN CARVER

May 1756 Montague £ 2-9-8 allowed by y^e Comtee Samuel Witt p order

Endorsed: Jonathan Carver's Petition Montague May 1756

Jonathan Carver' Account of Expences In Sickness in 1755
Dec.^r and In 1756 January February

Six Quarts of Rum.....	0	8	8
A quart of Brandy.....	0	0	11
Six Pound of Sugar.....	0	4	5
five Pound of Butter.....	0	2	4
For nursing Eight weeks.....	2	2	8
and Boarding my nurs Eight weeks.....	1	12	0
For Candls 8 Dozen.....	0	1	4

4 12 4

JONATHAN CARVER

HAMPSHIRE ss May 21th 1756

Jonathan Carver above named appeard and made oath to the
Truth of the above account

CORM ELIJAH WILLIAMS Jus^o Pac^s

[This is followed by the statement of two soldiers who had
served in Carver's company, Simeon King and John Hooker,
setting forth the truth of the petition.]

Endorsed: Jonathan Carver p. Comtee £ 2-9-8 Barnard May 21-1756

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

To his Excell^y Francis Bernard Esq Cap^t Gen^l Gov^r and Commander in chief—the Hon^o his majestys Council and House of Rep^{ves} for s^d Province in General Court Assembled Dec^r 31st 1763.⁷²

Humbly Shews Jonathan Carver late a Captain in the service of this Province—That he was in the Service of said Prov-

⁷² *Ibid*, 80: 447-449. Carver again petitioned the government in 1765, praying for the appointment as lieutenant in one of the forts to the

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ince in the Year 1755 & was taken with a fit of sickness in the Army but with great difficulty at length got home, where he had a lingering sickness of a slow fever & Camp distemper, which setled in one of his legs & had lik'd to have prov'd fatal, notwithstanding the Efforts of the ablest Surgeons, but after many months was able to go abroad, and in the Year 1756 petitioned the Gen^l Court for an allowance who paid one of his Doctor's bills & allow'd him £ 2. 10. 0 for his Expences & loss of time—how small the sum? how inadequate to his loss of time & Even expences?

In the Year 1757 he again enterd the Service and was one of the unhappy Sufferers at Fort William Henry, after the surrender of which in the horrid massacre he was wounded by the Indians in the same Leg in which the fever had before setled, and was obliged to travel in the wilderness two days—(tho but slow) thro' cold rivers, having nothing to apply to his wounded Leg, by which means he had a second time like to have lost it and after some application it grew a little better—but since that has been increasing & has more than once been in danger of losing his Leg by suffering an amputation.—which has been attended with great pain & more Expence than his circumstances can bear, having almost reduced him to poverty & want—nor will his Expences cease here, for his Leg is like to be a charge to him during Life, as there is no present prospect of its being heal'd.

Wherefore your Ment humbly supplicates your Excell^y & Honors that you would take his most piteous case into your wise consideration and releive him according to his distresses. And as in Duty bound shall ever pray

JON^A CARVER

Endorsed: There are twelve endorsements, the last two being as follows: In the House of Repves Jany 30 1764 Read and Ordered that the Sum of Sixty pounds be allowed the Petr out of the publick Treasury in full consideration for his sufferings mentioned. Sent up for concurrence Timo Ruggles Spkr In Council Jany 30th 1764 Read & Concurred Jno Cotton D Secry Consented to Fra. Bernard

Eastward (see Massachusetts *House Journals*, June 12, 1765, p. 65). The original petition seems to have been lost.

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CONSIDERATION OF A CARVER PETITION

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords of the Committee of His Majesty's most Honble Privy Council for Plantation Affairs.⁷³

MY LORDS—Pursuant to your Lordships order of the 21st of last month we have taken into our consideration the petition of Jonathan Carver, late Commander of a Company of provincial troops of Massachusetts Bay in New England, setting forth (amongst other things) his many services in the interior and unfrequented parts of North America; and the expence he has been put to in making discoveries, keeping journals and taking charts, none of which he has hitherto published or discover'd to any person; and humbly praying His Majesty to take his case into consideration and afford him some recompense for such his Services & expences; whereupon we beg leave to Report to your Lordships,

That in order to make enquiry into the Several Facts stated in the above Petition, agreeable to the directions contained in Your Lordships said order, We have been attended in person by the ~~Memorialist~~ Petitioner Captain Jonathan Carver, who has exhibited to us the attested Copy of a Warrant from Major Robert Rogers, Governor Commandant of His Majesty's Garrison of Michillimackinac, dated the 12th of August, 1766, ~~constituting~~ appointing the Petitioner an ~~appointment~~ with allowance of 8 s per day for the purpose of making discoveries and surveys of ye interior parts of North America, especially to y^e West and North west of that Garrison, and marking out the route he was to follow in his Expedition for that purpose; In consequence of this Commission it appears that the ~~Memorialist~~ Pet.^r undertook and performed a journey of great extent ~~and~~ thro' y^e interior and infrequent parts of the Continent of North America, travelling to the Westward of Michillimackinac as far as the Heads of the Great River Mississippi, directing his Course from thence westward almost to the South Sea, and ~~exploring~~ in his turn exploring the whole Circuit of the Great Lake Superior. In this Service under the commission above stated the ~~Memorialist~~ Pet.^r. sets forth that he was engaged ~~from~~

⁷³ Board of Trade, Commercial Papers, vol. 459.

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the 1st day of May 1766 to the last of Dec^r for a considerable Course of time, with great hazard and fatigue, incurring thereby an Expence which on account of his pay at ye above rate of 8s per day together with other incidental Charges, amounts in ye whole, as appears by ye abstract of his account (copy whereof we beg leave hereunto to annex) to the Sum of £735: 11^s 3^d Of this charge no part appears to have been defrayed, Major Rogers at the Memorist's Pet^rs return to Michillimackinac being then under confinement, and Gen^l Gage as appears by certificate under his Hand [Endorsed on side: Copy of which we beg leave hereunto to annex] do acknowledge the merits of yr Petitioner and verifying his allitations but declining to make him any compensation or allowance assigning for his reason that for as much as Major Rogers was not empower'd to employ him.

As to what Utility may arise to the Public from ye charts, plans and discoveries made by ye said Petitioner, (which is ye second Head of your Lordships reference) we must observe to your Lordships that from such general answers as we have obtained from Capt^t Carver to our enquiries on that subject, as from such observations as we coud form from his Route as laid down on ye Chart exhibited by him, we are inclined to think that no discoveries of general and national importance appear to have been struck out made in the course of his Travells; no new channels of navigation to have been open'd, nor do his journals as we conceive furnish any other Lights than what relate to an accurate the Courses of rivers, the fertility of the Country, the mines of different sorts in with which in some places it is found to abound, and such other general matters of various observation as may be expected to be Articles of Curiosity as might be supposed to offer themselves to the Observation in traversing a new and unexplored Country, inhabited by various Tribes of Savages with whom we have hitherto had no commerce or acquaintance.

Upon the Whole of this Case it does clearly appear to us that the Petitioner having inadvertently engaged in this Expedition under a Commission from Major Rogers, which that officer was by no means authorized to grant, He cannot now by virtue of such an appointment make any regular Claim or demand for in-

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deminification for his labour and expences.⁷⁴ Nevertheless as the Hardships and difficulties which this Memorialist Pet^r asserts to have undergone, have the Testimony of Gen. Gage for their truth, and as the general character of conduct of C Captain Carver does appear as well from y^e above Certificate of Gen. Gage as likewise by a Letter from Brig. Ruggles to Gov^r Bernard (Copy whereof we beg leave hereunto to annex) to have acquitted himself in His Maj^s Service with reputation & fidelity, we think it a case altogether of compassion, and as such submit it to your Lordships to act thereupon, either for his Relief, or otherwise, as in your Lordship's Wisdom shall seem meet.

We are My Lord Your Lordships most obedient and most humble serv^{ts}

HILLSBOROUGH
ED. ELIOT
THOMAS ROBINSON
WM. FITZHERBERT
LISBURNE

WHITEHALL July 10, 1769.

Endorsed: *Plant.s General.* Report to the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs on the petition of Cap.n Jonathan Carver. Entd N. for: 35 O July 10, 1769

" In the first draft, from this point to the close of the document, the phraseology was as follows:

Nevertheless as the Facts set forth in his memorial are of an extraordinary nature and seem to carry every mark and testimony of being true; as his Discoveries, (tho' probably not of that public Utility which his Memorial sets forth) may notwithstanding be not absolutely without use, as tending to cast some Lights upon those vast and un-frequented tracts, over which the British Empire is extended in America; more especially as ye Character and Conduct of the Memorialist have such full and respectable testimony from the Certificate of General Gage and others who have been witnesses of his services, we think it is a case altogether for your Lordships compassionate Consideration, and as such submit it to your Lordships to act thereupon, either for his relief, or otherwise, as in your Lordships wisdom shall seem meet.

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CERTIFICATE OF CHARACTER

By his Excellency the Honble Thomas Gage, General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America⁷⁵ &c &c &c

These are to certify, that Mr Jonathan Carver, served as Captain in the Provincials during the late War, with Reputation, and has ever bore the Character of a very good Man. That the hardships and difficulties set forth in the above Memorial are Facts; but as Major Rogers was not impowered to employ him, it is not in my Power to make him any Allowance for the great Trouble and Expence he alledges to have been at.

GIVEN AT HEAD QUARTERS AT NEW YORK this 11th day of August 1768

[Signed] THOS. GAGE

By his Excellency's Command. G: MATURIN.

HARDWICK [Mass.] Sept:r 1st 1768 ¹¹

SIR—The unfortunate Capt Carver is to be the bearer of this; his Misfortunes seem to be much aggravated by the wicked Conduct of Major Rogers, on whose promises he had too much dependence; as he has been upon the publick Service near Rogers, it may not be amiss to acquaint you with the Integrity of his Conduct, as it is attested by so good a Gentleman as Major Small; & therefore to that end I inclose his Letter.

As I have heretofore given you Capt Carver's Character, as an Officer, at large, it would be trespassing upon your patience to repeat it; but lest in your multiplicity of Business it should have escaped your Memory, must beg leave to say, he always behaved with Bravery, Fidelity, Humanity & Decorum, and ever approved himself to his superior Officers. permit me therefore to beg your compassionate comsideration of his Services, and to grant him your assistance in obtaining a recompence therefor.

I am Your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,
TIMOTHY RUGGLES.¹¹

His Excell^y Gov^r Bernard.

¹¹ Copy in Privy Council, Unbound Papers.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹ Timothy Ruggles was a forceful, able, and rather picturesque char-

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CARVER'S MEMORIAL

To the Right Honble the Earl of Gower Lord President of his Majestys most Honourable Privy Council.⁷⁸

The Humble Memorial of Jonathan Carver Sheweth.—That your Memorialist haveing explored some of the interior and unknown parts of America made application by petition to his Majesty for a Reward for his Services and Discoveries. Whereupon his Majesty was pleased by his order in Council of the 3rd of May 1769 to refer said petition to the Lords Committee of Council for plantation affairs.

That the Lords of Council did on the 21st of June last refer the Same to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations who made their Report thereon to the Lords of Council whereupon the Lords of Council on the 20th of November last made a Report to his Majesty in Council in the Words following Viz. "The Lords of the Committee upon mature Consideration of the whole matter do agree humbly to Recommend the petitioner to your Majestys Royal Bounty upon Condition that he do deliver up to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations all Maps Charts plans Discoveries and observations made by him during the Course of his said Expedition".

Whereupon on the 29th of November last "His Majesty taking the said Report into Consideration was pleased with the Advice of his Privy Council to approve thereof and was thereby pleased to declare his Gracious Intention to bestow his Royal Bounty upon the petitioner provided he did deliver up to the

acter. Born at Rochester, Mass., in 1711, he graduated from Harvard in 1732, and began public life (1736) as the representative of his native town. He not only became one of the leading lawyers of Massachusetts, but also showed an aptitude for military affairs, attaining the rank of brigadier general during the French and Indian war. As the revolutionary quarrel progressed, he became an ardent supporter of the measures proposed by the ministry; and as leaders of the two opposing parties, he and Otis frequently came into collision. Ruggles finally removed to Nova Scotia, where he is said to have died in 1798, at the ripe age of 87. See Sabine, *The American Loyalists* (Boston, 1847), pp. 583-586.

⁷⁸ Privy Council, Unbound Papers.

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Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations all Maps Charts plans Discoveries and observations made by him during the Course of his said expedition and the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majestys Treasury were to give such Directions therein as to them should seem proper."

That your Memorialist did deliver to the Lords of Trade & plantations all his Maps Charts plans Discoveries and observations made by him during the Course of his expedition.

That your Memorialist previous to the order of Council for delivering up his plans and observations had exhibited on account of Expences on his said Expedition amounting to the sum of 735^l 11^s 3^d.

That your Memorialist humbly apprehending that his Majesty out of his Royal Bounty would at least allow him his Expences and some reasonable Compensation for his Loss of Time did on the delivering up of his plans and observations make out an Estimate of his Costs and Expences since His said Expedition in preparing his Maps Charts and Journals Amounting to the sum of £ 394—4^s as p the Schedule hereto annexed besides which he has very Considerable fees yet to pay at the several Offices through which his papers have passed All which your Memorialist has represented to the Right Honble the Lords Commissioners of his Majestys Treasury.

That their Lordships not knowing what sum to allow your Memorialist for his Majestys Royal Bounty in this Case desired of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and plantations to be informed what in their opinion would be a proper Bounty to be given to the petitioner. Whereupon the Lords of Trade signified that they were at a loss to form any opinion upon that Question. The Right Honourable the Lords of the Treasury being still at a loss in forming any opinion concerning what Bounty ought to be given your Memorialist are obliged to wait for some other order or Information of which Mr. Bradshaw has acquainted the Clerk of Council in Writing.

That your Memorialist has Devoted his whole time in this Service ever since March 1766 in which time he has really suffered for loss time and Expence £ 1129—15—3 for which he has received no Satisfaction but depends wholly on his Majestys Royal Bounty and is now reduced to great Want and distress.

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Therefore most humbly prays that your Lordship of your well known Goodness will Compassionate your Memorialists Case and take his Majestys pleasure whether he will of his Royal Bounty allow your Memorialist the said Sum of £ 1129-15-3 or what other Sum and Signify the same to the Right Honble the Lords Commissioners of his Majestys Treasury or give them such other Information on the Subject for his Speedy Relief as your Lordship shall think fit. and your Memorialist shall ever pray &c.

JONATHAN CARVER

Endorsed: To the Right Honble the Earl of Gower Lord President of his Majestys Most Honourable Privy Council The Memorial of Jonathan Carver 7:June 1770 Copy sent to the Treasury

SCHEDULE OF EXPENSES

My LORD—on being Inform'd that the two Articles of Charge for Extra Expence amounting to the sum of 206^l in the Schedule I gave in to your Lordship is thought not to be a proper charge on Goverment. I am willing to wave those charges, and Humbly hope your Lordship will please to Accept the following Schedule, And Recommend the same to the Lords of Treasury. and give Speedy relief to the distresses of My Lord Your Lordships Most Obedient Serv^t

JONATHAN CARVER

For time and Expence from the first of January 1769 to the first of July 1770 the Time the petr expects to Ar- rive in America 546 Days @ 8 s. p Diem.....	218	8
To passage from America to London.....	21	
To passage from London Home to America.....	21	
To Cash paid Kitchen Engraver for Copper plate deliv- ered to the Board of Trade.....	12	12
To 606 Days provision Supply.d on my Expedition in the Interior parts of America (Omitid in the first Account) @ 4s/p Diem provision being Excessive Dear.....	121	4
		£ 394 4
First Schedule	735	11 3
Total	£ 1129	15 3

Addressed: To the R.t Honbl the Earl Gower

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

An account of Loss of Time and Expense in preparing the Maps & Charts & Journals taken on my Journey into the Interior part of America, And Delivering them to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.⁷⁹

For Expence in Board Cloths washing and Lodging from the first of Jan.y 1769 to 1st of Jan.y 1770 whils[t] Drawing and Correcting Plans and Journals 365 Days @ 8/p Diem.....	146
For Passage & Stores from America to London.....	21
For Cash paid to the Kichen Engraver for Copper Plate Del'd to the Board of Trade 12 Guneas.....	12 12
For Expences in London from the first of January 1770 to the first of May 1770 @ 10s/p Diem 120 Days.....	60
For Passage from London to America.....	21
For Loss of Time from the first of January 1769 to the first of July 1770. the Expected to Arrive in America being 546 Days @ 8s/p Diem.....	218
<hr/>	
	479 0
For provision for self and two men from the first of May 1766 to the first of Dec.r 1767 being 606 Days @ 4s/p Diem. Provision being Excessive Dear.....	121 4
NB this Article was Omitted in the first Account.....	
<hr/>	
Total	£ 600 4

FURTHER MEMORIALS

To The Right Honourable The Earl of Dartmouth His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the American Department, &c. &c.—

The Memorial of Jonathan Carver⁸⁰ Most Humbly Sheweth— That Your Memorialist in the Year 1757 was appointed a Lieutenant in his Majesty's Provincial Troops in North America, and from his indefatiguable Labour and good Conduct was in the Year 1759 Promoted to the Head of a Company which he had the Honour of Commanding in several principal Battles, was wounded in his Leg at the bloody Massacre of the unhappy Gar-

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Dartmouth Manuscripts; no pressmark.

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rison of Fort William Henry at Lake George, All which may more fully appear to Your Lordship by Letters of Recommendation from General Officers Now in Your Memorialist Possession.

That at the Conclusion of the late war Your Memorialist *with other Officers in the Provincial Service* was disbanded without half Pay or any other Provision for his long and painfull services in defence of his King and Country.

That Your Memorialist being thus at Liberty and Ever desirous of rendering to his King and Country his best services, and hoping for further Protection of Government, undertook at his own Expence a most Fatiguing and dangerous Travel into the interior Country of North America, Explored the head branches of the Great River Mississippi and the unfrequented parts Westward, Made himself acquainted with the Language and Manners of the most Noted Nations of Indians towards the South Sea, Travelled further than any English Subject did before, or Even then the Noted French Travellers did (viz) Baron La Hontan, Charlevoix, and Hennepin took Draughts and plans of the Country for many thousands of miles to the Westward of any European Settlements

That Your Memorialist on his Return made Application to be reimbursed his Expences and Labour, and his Majesty was most Graciously pleased to order him a Sum of Money on his giving up his Journals Draughts and plans, which he chearfully did, tho the sum Received was but a little more than Equivoltent to the Expences he was at, which Draughts and Plans wou'd then by a publication produce Your Memorialist a Considerable Relief.

That Your Memorialist has been for near three Years past without pay or Employment, his money being Quite Exhausted, is reduced to very great distress. Therefore Most humbly Sollicits Your Lordships humane interposition. And that Your Lordship will be pleased from the Nature of his Case and Your Well Known inclination to releave the Distressed, put him into Some Employment, Civil or Military whereby Your memorialist may git a Support. And Your Memorialist Will as in Duty Bound, Ever Pray

JONATHAN CARVER

Feb. 10th 1773.

Endorsed: The Memorial of Jonathan Carver Late a Captain in the Provincial Troops in North America.

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

To The Right Honorable The Earl of Dartmouth His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the American Department. And First Lord of Trade and Plantations. &c. &c. &c.

The Memorial of Jonathan Carver⁸¹ Most Humbly Sheweth— That Your Memorialist having by his indefatigable Labour and industry acquired a Considerable Knowledge in the Geography of America And the situation of the Appointments already made to Superintendants of Indian affairs, Humbly Conceives that no Department of Equal Extent in His Majesty's Dominions so much Needs a further appointment as the Country West of Lake Huron, Lying between the Illinois River on the south, And the Hudson Bay Company Terretories on the North, And as far West as His Majesty's Goverment may Extend, Which vast tract contains in one part about twelve Different Nations of Indians the Most of them at present but little known to Europeans, Besides a Number of Bands further west toward the South Seas who are not known only by Reports.

That your Memorialist from his great acquaintance and Extensive Knowledge of the Manners, Customs, and Languages of those interiour Indians, flatters himself that he Can be very usefull to the public if Employed as an Agent for Indian Affairs in those parts. That such an appointment will in no instance lessen the importance of or infringe upon any appointment of this Kind already Made. And that he may be further Employed as a Surveyor and Draughtsman to Communicate to Your Lordship as often as Opportunity may offer every Necessary intelligence and Discovery that may be made or obtained by Your Memorialist.

That your Memorialist while on his travels among those distant Indians. Their Chiefs often Complained to him that they were not well known or not properly Represented to their Great Father the English King (as they Express^d themselves) And many of them at that time Sollicited Your Memorialist to Represent their Case to their Great Father and acquaint his Majesty how much they Wished to be counted among his faithfull Children. And it was with Reluctance they let Your Memorialist Depart without Pledging himself to Return to them again within

^a *Ibid.*

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thirty Moons with good News from their Great Father, Meaning his most Gracious Majesty. Which when your Memorialist had Promised to do if their Great Father permitted, they with their Usual Ceremony adopted him a Chief and Depicted the Armorials of their Country on his Arm.

That Your Memorialist Can have no Motives of Pleasure or Profit from such a Recluse situation and Fatigueing Dangerous Enterprize among those Heathen Idolaters Whose Welfare on Every accoun^t. he Heartily wishes he may be the happy Means of Promoting. And also to Encrease Trade and become otherwise usefull to the Public by furthering any Discoveries across the Continent to the South Sea. As he was the first Englishman that ever set out on that undertaking.

Your memorialist Therefore most Humbly prays that Your Lordship would take into Your Wise Consideration his Case and Representations. together with His other Services for his King and Country, and grant him such Relief as Your Lordship may think most Convenient for the Public Good and the Welfare of the Memorialist. And as in Duty Bound Will Ever Pray

JONATHAN CARVER.

February 25th, 1773.

Endorsed: The Memorial of Jonathan Carver Late a Captain in the Provincial Troops in North America 1773.

CARVER PAPERS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.^{**}

8949. Journal of the Travels of Jonathan Carver in 1766 and 1767. (1) Survey journal from Detroit to Michilimackinac; (2) journal, beginning May 20, 1766; (3) dictionary of the Naudouwessie language; (4) map of the Great Lakes from middle of Lake Huron westward, with colored plots of various Indian "kingdoms"; (5) *id.*, engraved, 1769, not colored; (6) same as (5), colored to correspond to original map (4); (7) different version of the journal with comments on the country; (8) additions in the form of numbered notes; (9) pen and ink

^{**} Additional Manuscripts, 8949 and 8950. The calendar here given is from Andrews and Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783* (Washington, 1908).

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

drawing of pipe, tent, Buffalo snake, sword, tomahawk called "Naudouissie Break-head".

8950. Fair copy of Carver's Survey and Journal. Also map, engraved, finely colored, with the drawings in 8949 better executed.

Following these documents comes "The Same Journal put by the Author into a form which he intended for publication with several additions which seem to have been made from memory." Some additional pen and ink drawings with explanations, signed "Jonathan Carver"; also copies of speeches interchanged with the chief of the Naudouessie, "when he was adopted chief in their Bands," May 1, 1767, with notes for the revision.

Bibliographical Data

When, after painstaking investigation, "A Bibliography of Carver's Travels" was prepared by the writer three years ago, it was hoped that it included all editions of the *Travels*.⁸³ However, some knowledge of the pitfalls that await the bibliographer bore fruit in the form of a guarded statement on that point. The wisdom of this course was soon made apparent; for, no sooner had the little study come from the printer's hand, than two editions, hitherto unknown to collectors in this country, came to light—Paris, 1802, and Braunschweig, 1830. By courtesy of Messrs. Wilberforce Eames and A. F. Bandelier, copies of these editions have been examined and are fully described below. The discovery of the Paris edition of 1802 by Mr. Eames made it clear that the supposition that the various Tours editions were translated from one of the earlier issues in English, was erroneous.⁸⁴ In all probability the Tours Carvers were reprinted from this Paris edition of 1802. Moreover, the title-page of the latter shows that it is a translation of an edition in German which had also escaped notice—namely, Campe's abridgment. Luckily, Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits learned of a copy of one of the Campe editions (there are several) in the library of Mr. Bandelier, who kindly sent it on to me for exam-

⁸³ Wis. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 143-183.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 178, note.

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ination. It is to be regretted that a positive statement cannot be made as to the number and dates of all these German editions; but, in addition to the one here described, the *Travels* appeared in abridged form in editions of Campe's collection printed in 1788 and 1801, and quite likely in several subsequent editions, of which the latest seems to be that of 1830. Unfortunately, copies of Campe have not been available for description, with the exception of the last named.

One cannot fail to be impressed by the marvelous popularity of Carver's book for a century following its publication; and it may not be out of place here to venture the hope that some publisher of Western Americana will, before long, republish the *Travels* in an edited edition, thus giving it the audience it so well deserves.

Paris, 1802 (two volumes bound in one)

Volume 1.

Half title: Bibliothèque | géographique et instructive, | on | recueil | de voyages intéressants.

Title: Voyage | dans l'intérieur | de l'Amérique Septentrionale, | pendant les années 1766, 1767 et 1768, | par J. Carver. | rédigé. | pour l'instruction et l'amusement de la jeunesse, | par Campe. | Traduit de l'allemand avec des notes, et aug- | menté d'une notice géographique et historique | sur cette partie du monde, depuis sa décou- | verte jusqu'à nos jours; orné d'une figure, | et d'une carte d'après les dernières observa- | tions, notamment celles d'Alex. Mackensie. | Tome premier. | De l'imprimerie de guilleminet. | A Paris, | chez J. E. Gabriel Dufour, libraire, rue | de Tournon, no 1126. | Et à Amsterdam, chez le même. | AN XI—1802.

Collation: 12 mo; half-title, verso blank; title-page, verso blank; Notice historique et géographique, sur l'Amérique Septentrionale; servant d'instruction préliminaire pour le voyage de Carver. Par J. B. J. Breton, pp. [v]—lxiv; Voyage de Jonathan Carver, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, [chaps. 1—8], pp. [1]—136; Table des matières contenues dans ce volume, pp. [137]—139; verso of p. 139 blank.

Signatures: Half-title and title-page; a—e in sixes; 1—11 in sixes; 12 in four; total, 102 leaves.

Map: Amérique | Septentrionale | d'après | les dernières obser- | vations | par Hérisson, [left, lower corner], facing p. [1]; size, 7¾ x 10½ inches.

Jonathan Carver: Additional Data

Volume 2.

Half-title: Same as volume 1.

Title: Same as volume 1, except 15th line, which reads: Tome second.

Collation: Half-title, verso blank; title-page, verso blank; Voyage de Jonathan Carver, dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, [chaps. 9-25], pp. [1]-209; Table des matières contenues dans ce volume, pp. [210]-212.

Signatures: Half-title and title-page; 1-17 in sixes; 18 in four; total, 108 leaves.

Plate: [Engraving entitled] Danses des Femmes chez les Indiens de l'Amérique Septentrionale, facing title-page. This engraving is marked: Voyage de Campe, Tome vi, Carver, 2.

Braunschweig, 1830

Title: Sammtliche | Kinder-und Jugendschriften | von | Joachim Heinrich Campe. | Neue Gesamtausgabe der letzten Hand. | Zwanzigstes Bandchen. | Erste Sammlung | merkwürdiger Reisebeschreibungen. | Vierter Theil. | Braunschweig, | in der Schulbuchhandlung. | 1830.

Half title: Das | Anziehendste und Merkwürdigste | aus | Johann Carver's Reisen | durch die | innern Gegenden von Nordamerika.

Collation: 16mo; title-page, verso: Inhalt. | J. Carver's Reisen durch das Innere von Nordamerika. | Vorrede [in which it is stated that the present work is based on the Ebeling collection of travels, Hamburg, 1780], pp. [iii]-iv; half-title, verso blank; Einleitung, pp. [3]-5; [chapters 1-25, each with short descriptive heading], pp. 5-218.

Signatures: [1] in seven; 2-14 in eighths; total, 111 leaves.

No map or plates.

This collection of travels appears to have been bound two volumes in one; Carver's work is vol. 20. Volumes 19 and 20 are bound together. The former contains the following: (1) Kommodore Biron's Reise um die Erde. (2) Kapitan Wallis Reise um die Erde. (3) Kapitan Carteret's Reise um die Erde.

Mr. A. F. Bandelier's copy is in the original half-leather binding, and is lettered: Campe's | Jugendschriften. | 19. 20. Bändchen.

